

B.—Sanskritie.

Nom.	शब्द	word	Gen.	शब्द को ;
”	पिता	father	”	पिता को ;
”	प्रभु	lord	”	प्रभु को ;
”	साची	witness	”	साची को ;
”	स्त्री	woman	”	स्त्री को ; &c.

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*Beef in Ancient India.*—By Bābu RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA.

The title of this paper will, doubtless, prove highly offensive to most of my countrymen ; but the interest attached to the enquiry in connexion with the early social history of the Aryan race on this side of the Himālaya, will, I trust, plead my excuse. The idea of beef—the flesh of the earthly representative of the divine Bhagavatī—as an article of food is so shocking to the Hindu, that thousands over thousands of the more orthodox among them never repeat the counterpart of the word in their vernaculars, and many and dire have been the sanguinary conflicts which the shedding of the blood of eows has caused in this country. And yet it would seem that there was a time when not only no compunctious visitings of conscience had a place in the mind of the people in slaughtering cattle—when not only the meat of that animal was actually esteemed a valuable aliment,—when not only was it a mark of generous hospitality, as among the ancient Jews, to slaughter the “fatted calf” in honor of respected guests, but when a supply of beef was deemed an absolute necessity by pious Hindus in their journey from this to another world, and a cow was invariably killed to be burnt with the dead.\* To Englishmen, who are familiar with the present temper of the people on the subject, and to a great many of the natives themselves, this remark may appear quite startling ; but the authorities on which it is founded are so authentic and incontrovertible that they cannot, for a moment, be gainsaid.

To the more learned among my countrymen the fact is not unknown that the Vedas, at one time, enjoined a ceremony called *gomedha*, or the sacrifice of cattle ; but they imagine it was typical, and did not involve the actual slaughter of the animal, and accordingly envelope it in mystery, so as to render it completely unintelligible to the uninitiated, or intelligible in a manner that takes them entirely away from the truth. When the subject attracted the attention of the late Professor Wilson, the attempt at mystifi-

\* *Vide* my paper on the ‘Funeral Ceremonies of the Ancient Hindus,’ Journal, Vol. XXXIX, p. 241.

ation was so far successful that he was made to waver,\* though the light of truth could not be altogether withheld from a scholar and critic like him. In a note in his translation of the *Meghaduta*, Professor Wilson said, "the sacrifice of the horse or of the cow, the *gomedha* or *as'vamedha*, appears to have been common in the earliest periods of the Hindu ritual. It has been conceived that the sacrifice was not real, but typical; and that the form of sacrificing only was performed upon the victim, after which it was set at liberty. The text of this passage, however, is unfavorable to such a notion, as the metamorphosis of the blood of the kine into a river certainly implies that blood was diffused. The expression of the original, literally rendered, is 'sprung from the blood of the daughters of Surabhi' that is, kine, Surabhi being a celebrated cow produced at the churning of the ocean, and famed for granting to her votaries whatever they desired. 'Daughter of Surabhi' is an expression of common occurrence, to denote the cow."† This argument of the learned Professor, however, had suggested itself to the people of this country long before his time, and it was met by some by the assertion that the word blood had been used only to complete the metaphor of the sacrifice. Others more amenable to the plain meaning of the old texts, but at the same time more daring, assume that the animals so sacrificed were immediately after invariably revived by the supernatural powers of the sacrificers. Such a line of argument, however satisfactory to the pious proletariat, takes the question so entirely out of the domain of reason, that it may fairly be left to itself; but even the orthodox Hindu might fairly ask, how it is then that the venerated old poet and hermit Vālmīki, when preparing to receive his brother sage Vas'ishṭha, the author of one of the original law books (*Sṃpṛitis*) which regulates the religious life of the people, and a prominent character even in the Vedas, slaughtered a lot of calves expressly for the entertainment of his guests? The revivification in that case must have followed the consumption of the meat of the slaughtered animals by them. The passage in which Vālmīki's preparation for the reception of Vas'ishṭha is described in the *Uttara-rāma-charita* is so remarkable, that I need not offer any apology to quote it entire. The scene is laid in front of the hermitage of Vālmīki, where two disciples of the sage discourse on the bustle within.

"*Bhāṇḍāyana.* Behold, Saudhātaki, our humble dwelling!

Vālmīki's holy hermitage assumes

The face of preparation; he expects

Unwonted guests to-day; the wild deer feed

\* This was, however, done at the early part of his Sanskrit studies, when he had not come to the fountain-head, and was obliged to depend on his pandits. Subsequently he had no doubt whatever on the subject. Vide his note in the *Uttara Rāma Charita, Hindu Theatre, I. 34.*

† *Essays II., p. 353.*

- Upon unusual fragments, and the air  
Is filled with savoury odours.
- Saulhátaki.* There must be  
Some wondrous cause, to make our grey beards lay  
'Their lectures by to-day.
- Bhán.* There is a cause,  
And that of no mean import.
- Sau.* Tell me I pray you,  
What venerable ox may we expect  
To visit us ?
- Bhán.* For shame ! refrain from jests :  
The great Vas'ishṭha hither brings the queens  
Of Das'aratha, with Arundhatí,  
From Rishyas'ringa to our master's dwelling.
- Sau.* Vas'ishṭha is it ?
- Bhán.* The same.
- Sau.* I crave his pardon. I had thought, at least,  
It was a wolf or tiger we should look for.
- Bhán.* How so ?
- Sau.* Why else was there provided  
The fatted calf for his regale ?
- Bhán.* Why, know you not,  
The Vedas, which enshrine our holy law,  
Direct the householder shall offer those  
Who in the law are skilled, the honied meal  
And with it flesh of ox, or calf, or goat,  
And the like treatment shall the householder  
Receive from Bráhmans learned in the Vedas.\*"

Vas'ishṭha, in his turn likewise, slaughtered the "fatted calf" when entertaining Vis'vámitra, Janaka, S'atánanda, Jámadagnya and other sages and friends, and in the *Mahávira Charita*, when pacifying Jámadagnya, tempted him by saying: "The heifer is ready for sacrifice, and the food is cooked in ghee. 'Thou art a learned man, come to the house of the learned, favour us (by joining in the entertainment).'"†

These are, doubtless, examples quoted from avowed fictions, but it is not to be supposed for a moment that their authors would have alluded to such

\* *Hindu Theatre* I, 339. This rendering is a little too free, but the main facts remain unaltered. For a literal translation of the passage, see Mr. Tawney's version of the work, Act IV.

† सञ्जयते वत्सतरी सर्पिष्यन्नञ्च पच्यते ।

श्राद्धियः श्राद्धियद्दानागतेऽसि जुषस्व नः ॥ अ० ३ ।

a subject, and offended the feelings of their readers, had they not ample authority to be satisfied that their readers would go with them.

Colebrooke noticed the subject in his essays on "the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus," in which he says, "it seems to have been anciently the custom to slay a cow on this occasion, (the reception of a guest) and a guest was therefore called a *goghna* or 'cow-killer.'\* When noticing the mantra for the consecration of the cow at the marriage ceremony, he observes: "The commentator whose gloss has been followed in this version of the text, introduces it by the remark, that a guest, entitled to honorable reception, is a spiritual preceptor, a priest, an ascetic, a prince, a bridegroom, a friend, or, in short, any one to welcome whose arrival a cow must be tied for the purpose of slaying her; whence a guest is denominated *goghna*, or cow-killer."†

Manu authorises the consumption of animal food at all seasons with the slight restraint of first offering a bit of it to the gods, or manes, or guests. He says, "having bought flesh meat, or obtained it by aid of another, he who eats it after worshiping the gods or manes commits no sin." v. 32. But he does not expressly name beef as an article of food. In his list of animals fit for human food he, however, observes; "the hedge-hog and porcupine, the lizard *godhā* (*Gwana*) the *ganḍaka* (rhinoceros) the tortoise, and the *rabbit* or hare, wise legislators declare lawful food among five-toed animals, and all quadrupeds, camels excepted, which have but one row of teeth."‡ And this would include cows which were well known to him as animals having one row of teeth. Had he wished to exclude them, he would have for certain thought of them, and linked them with camels. It is, however, not necessary to infer what he intended by such a line of argument, as he is quite explicit in his directions about the use of beef on the occasion of a Brahmachāri's return home. He says: "Being justly applauded for this strict performance of his duty, and having received from his *natural or spiritual* father, the sacred gift of the Vedas, let him sit on an elegant bed, decked with a garland of flowers, and let his father honour him, before his nuptials, with the present of a cow, according to the *Madhuparka* rite."§ In a subsequent passage|| he recommends the *Madhuparka* or the "honed meal" with beef for the reception of kings and other great dignitaries.

Asoka, who in his first edict, says "formerly in the great refectory and temple of the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, daily were many hundred thousand animals sacrificed for the sake of meat food,"¶ does not specify the kind

\* Asiatic Researches VII, 288.

† Ibid VII, 289.

‡ Manu V., 18.

§ Ibid III, 3.

|| Ibid III, 119-120.

¶ Journal, Vol. VII., p. 249.

of animals which were slaughtered, but, bearing in mind that when the animals were sacrificed he was a Hindu, and followed the ordinances of the S'ástra, it is to be presumed that he did not confine himself to the meat of kids and sheep.

The Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana allude to the *gomedha* or slaughter of cattle for sacrifice; but they do not afford any details, nor is it clearly mentioned that bovine meat was used as food.

The Sútras, both Kalpa and Grihya, and the Vedas themselves, however, display no such reserve or reticence. They distinctly affirm that bovine meat was used as food, and in detail point out the different occasions when cattle should be slaughtered and eaten.

In the Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda, that grand store-house of Vedic rituals, which afford the fullest insight into the religious life of ancient India, mention is made of scores of different ceremonies, which required the meat of cattle for their performance, and considerable stress is laid on the kind and character of the cattle which should be slaughtered for the supply of meat for the gratification of particular divinities. Thus, among the *Kámya Ishtis*, or minor sacrifices with special prayers (B. III, c. VIII), we have to sacrifice a dwarf ox to Vishṇu; a drooping-horned bull with a blaze on the forehead to Indra as the author of sacrifices, or as the destroyer of Vítra; a thick-legged cow (*prishnisaktha*) to the same as the regent of wind; a white-blazed drooping-horned bull to the same, as the destroyer of enemies, or as the wielder of the thunderbolt; a barren cow to Vishṇu and Varuṇa; a cow that has lately miscarried to Aushadhayah; a bull that has been already sanctified at a marriage or other ceremony to Indra and Agni; a polled ox to Brahmaṇaspati; a black cow to Pushan; a cow that has brought forth only once to Váyu; a brown ox to Indra, the invigorator of our faculties; a speckled or piebald ox to Savitá; a cow having two colors to Mitra and Varuṇa; a red cow to Rudra; a white barren cow to Súra; a white ox to Mitra; a cow that has miscarried from taking the bull unseasonably to Váyu; a cow fit to conceive to Bhaga, &c., &c. In a rule in connexion with the As'vamedha, the same authority lays down that sacrificial animals should differ in caste, colour, age, &c., according to the gods for whom they are designed.\*

In the larger ceremonies, such as the Rájasuya, the Vájapeya, and the As'vamedha, the slaughter of cattle was an invariable accompaniment. Of the first two, the *Gośava* formed an integral part, and it ensured to the performer independent dominion in this world, and perfect freedom in the next to saunter about as he liked, even as the cow roams untrammelled in the forest.†

\* Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, III, p. 658.

† यथा गौः अरण्ये खञ्जन्द्धारो, एवमयं ब्रह्मलोकोऽपि खतन्त्रो भवति । Taittiríya Aranyaka.

In its account of the As'vamedha, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa recommends 180 domestic animals to be sacrificed, including horses, bulls, cows, goats, deer, Nilagāos,\* &c. A number of wild animals were, likewise, on such occasions, brought to the sacrificial posts, but they were invariably let loose after consecration. The authority, however, does not distinctly say how many heads of cattle were required for the purpose; the number perhaps varied according to the exigencies of the guests among whom crowned heads with their unwieldy retainers formed so prominent a part, and whose requirements were regulated by a royal standard. But even the strictly ceremonial offering was not, evidently, completed with a solitary cow or two. Out of the "ten times eighteen" heads required, a great many must have been bulls, cows and heifers of diverse colors and ages.

The Brāhmaṇa notices another ceremony in which a large number of cattle were immolated for the gratification of the Maruts and the enjoyment of their worshipers. This was called the *Pañchas'ārādīya sava*, or the "quinquennium of autumnal sacrifices." It evidently held the same position in ancient India which the Durgápūjā does in the liturgy of the modern Hindus. It used to be celebrated, as its name implies, for five years successively, the period of the ceremony being limited to five days on each occasion, beginning with the new moon which would be in conjunction with the Vis'ākḥā constellation. This happened in September or October. The most important elements of the ceremony were seventeen five-year-old humpless dwarf bulls, and as many dwarf heifers under three years. The former were duly consecrated, and then liberated, and the latter, after proper invocations and ceremonial observances, immolated; three on each day, the remaining two being added to the sacrifice on the last day, to celebrate the conclusion of the ceremony for the year. The Tāndya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda notices this ceremony, but it recommends cattle of a different color for each successive year. According to it the 7th or 8th of the waxing moon in As'vina for the first year, and the 6th of Kārtika for the following years, as the most appropriate for it.† The origin of the *Yajña*, according to a Vedic legend, is due to Prajāpati. Once on a time he wished to be rich in wealth and dependents; "he perceived the Pañchas'ārādīya; he seized it, and performed a sacrifice with it, and thereby became great in wealth and dependents." "Whoever wishes to be great," adds the Veda, "let him worship through the Pañchas'ārādīya. Thereby, verily, he will be great."‡

\* तस्मादष्टादशिनो रोहितो धूमरोहित इत्यादिभिरनुवाकैश्चैः प्रत्यनुवाकमष्टादश-सङ्ख्या मिलित्वाश्लीत्यधिकशतसङ्ख्याकाः पशव आनुच्यन्ते । Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa II, 651.

† यथा० शरदि कार्तिके मासि यजेत । सप्तम्यासष्टम्यां वाश्वयुजौपचे तु वत्सतरीरेवा-लभेरन् उत्तौ विद्धजेयुः । ६४२ ।

‡ Tait. Brāhmaṇa, II, 2.

Elsewhere it is said that this ceremony ensures thoroughly independent dominion, and that a sage of the name of Kāndama attained it through this means.\*

In the *Ās/valāyana Sūtra* mention is made of several sacrifices of which the slaughter of cattle formed a part. One of them in the *Grihya Sūtra* is worthy of special notice. It is called *Sūla gava* or “spitted cow,” *i. e.*, Roast Beef. It was performed either in the autumn (*sarat*), or the spring season; when the moon was in the constellation *Ārdra*.† The animal appropriate for it was a cow of other than fawn color, spotted with white,‡ and the choicest of the fold.§ Black spots were, however, not deemed objectionable,|| and a uniform black or blue color with a dash of red in it, *i. e.* of a purplish tinge was reckoned unexceptionable.¶ As soon as such an animal was selected, it was bathed with water in which paddy and barley had been steeped, and let loose,\*\* as long as it did not attain all its permanent teeth, being all the while kept dedicated to Rudra, by a Vedic mantra which says, “May you thrive in the name Rudra the great god, &c.”††

The proper place for the sacrifice was an unfrequented spot, outside, and to the east or the north, of a village or town, whence the village was not visible, nor was it visible from the village. The time was after midnight, but some authorities preferred the dawn.‡‡

All the necessary arrangements being complete, the priest, a Brāhman versed in the details of the sacrifice and experienced by former performance of it,§§ should begin the ceremony by making certain offerings to the fire with appropriate mantras, and then plant a sacrificial post of the usual size, but of a green palāś a branch, uncarved and unadorned, the practice in other

\* खाराज्यं वा एष यज्ञः । एतेन वा एकयावा कान्दमः खाराज्यमगच्छत् । खाराज्यं गच्छति । Taittiriya Brāhmana II, 781.

† शरदि वसन्ते वार्द्रया । ४, ९, २ ।

‡ अकुष्ठिष्ठपत् । ४, ९, ४ ।

§ श्रेष्ठं खस्य यूयस्य । ४, ९, २ ।

|| कल्माषमित्येके । ४, ५ ।

¶ कामं ह्यणमालोहवायत् । ४, ९, ६ ।

\*\* त्रीह्रियववतीभिरङ्गिरभिषिच्य । ४ । ६, ७ ।

†† रुद्राय सहादेवाय जुष्टो वर्द्धतेति । ४, ९, ९ ।

I am not sure whether the Rudra in this passage should be the noun, and Mahādeva “great god,” adjective, or the latter the noun, and Rudra “fierce” the epithet. In the present day animal sacrifices are rarely offered to Mahādeva. To Sarasvatī, likewise no meat offering is now made, though the Vedas enjoin it repeatedly.

‡‡ ऊर्द्धमर्द्धरात्रात् । उदित इत्येके । ४, ६, १२ ।

§§ For obvious reasons this condition could not have been invariably carried out.

ceremonies being to earve and decorate the post (Yūpa) very elaborately. Two pieces of string are now to be provided, one made of kūs'a grass, and the other of a kind of ereeping palās'a, *vratati*. One of these is tied round the post, and the other to the right horn of the vietim, which is then attached to the post facing the west ; each of these operations being performed while repeating a mantra. The animal being then immolated in the usual way, an offering is made to the fire with the liver held in a vessel made of palās'a wood or leaves. The mantra for the purpose is formed of the twelve names of S'iva thus—"To Hara, Mṛiḍha, S'ārva, S'iva, Bhava, Mahādeva, Ugra, Bhīma, Paś'upati, Rudra, S'añkara, and Is'āna, may this be welcome."\* It is, however, optional with the priest to repeat the whole of this mantra, or only a part of it including the last six names, or simply to say "to Rudra, may this be welcome!" Offerings of cooked rice and other articles being now made, four bundles of kūs'a grass are spread on the four sides of the altar, and a little cooked rice and some beef are offered to Rudra as the regent of the four quarters. This is followed by four mantras addressed to Rudra from the four quarters. The husks (*usha*) and broken grain (*kunda*) of the rice used in cooking the rice offering, together with the tail, hide, tendons and hoofs of the vietim are then to be thrown into the fire, and the effused blood, which at the time of immolation was held in a vessel, should be thrown on bundles of kūs'a grass. At a time when the people knew not how to utilize bovine hair and hoofs, their burning was a matter of course, but the destruction of so useful an article as hide was not in keeping with the views of the Benthamites of the day ; accordingly Sāmbatya, a sage, recommended that it should be made subservient to human use, by being manufactured into shoes and the like.† The priest is then to stand up, facing the north, and, covering his face with a cloth, repeat a mantra offering the blood which had been spilled on the ground at the time of sacrifice to serpents to whom it belongs. The final offerings (*svishṭakṛit*) are now made, and the spit being removed from the chest of the vietim, the ceremony is concluded by an address to Rudra in praise of his greatness. The remains of the ceremonial offerings, says the Sūtrakāra, should not be admitted into the village, nor children be permitted to approach the sacrifice. But the sacrificers should, says the text, "eat of the oblation in the usual way, after the benediction (*svastayana*)."‡ Some forbid this consumption of the beef, others make it optional.§

\* हराय ऋद्धाय शर्वाय शिवाय भवाय महादेवाद्याय भीमाय पशुपतये रुद्राय शङ्करादेशानाय स्वाहा । ४, ९, १७ ।

† भोगं चर्मणा कुर्वीतेति शांबत्यः । शॉवत्यस्वाचार्यः चर्मणा भोगमुपानदादि कुर्वीतेति मन्यते । ४, ९, २४ ।

‡ निधोगात्तु प्राञ्जीयात् स्वस्वयन इति । ४, ९, २५ ।

§ अस्य पशोः ऊनशंषं न प्राञ्जीयात् । अन्यत्र इच्छातः प्राञ्जीयात् वा । ४, ९, २२ ।



The ceremony ensures to the performer long life, wealth, high position, great religious merit, and numerous herds and children; and every householder is required to perform it at least once in course of his life; it being reckoned among those which must be performed. A modified form of this ceremony is recommended to be performed in a paddock, where cattle are piquetted at night, should a murrian break out in the fold.

If is to be regretted, that the account of the ceremony given in the *Grihya Sūtra*, though full in other respects, is entirely silent as to how the meat of the animal is to be cooked. The use of the spit or skewer and its presence in the chest of the victim whence it is to be withdrawn at the conclusion of the ceremony, leaves little doubt, however, as to the manner in which the meat was dressed.\*

The next ceremony I have to notice is named *Gavīmanayana*, or the sacrifice of the cow, otherwise called *Ekīshṭakā*. It was held for four days on the eighth of the wane in the month of *Māgha*, or for four days, either immediately before, or immediately after, the full moon of *Phalguṇa* or *Chaitra*. Its details are in many respects similar to that of the ordinary *Pasūbandha*, of which some account will be given below. It seems to have formed a part of the *Mahāpūṣa*, *Dvādas'aha* and other ceremonies, and not to have constituted a distinct ceremony by itself.

Several other ceremonies also required a supply of beef for their consummation. In connexion with the *Atirātra* ceremony *Kātyāyana* recommends the sacrifice of a barren cow (a spotted one being preferred)† to the *Maruts*, and seventeen, black, polled, entire oxen to *Prajapati*, permission being granted to dispense with one or two of the characteristics if all the three cannot be secured.‡ I have not yet been able to obtain a *Prayoga* for the performance of any of these ceremonies, and am not, therefore, in a position to supply all the details which were observed in performing them. I have, however, got three short *Prayogas* for the performance of the *Nirūḍa pasūbandha*, from one of which (MS. No. 1552, Sanskrit College of Calcutta) I have compiled the following abstract of the ceremony.

This ceremony should be performed during the six months of the northern declension of the sun, when the moon is waxing in one of the *Deva-*

\* ततः स्वियुक्तादिहृद्यश्लोद्वासनसहितं होमश्रेयं समापयेत् । आश्वलायनः—  
स्व० वृत्तिः ४, ९, २९ ।

† अनिरात्रपशूनुपाकृत्य वशां षड्भिः सवद्भ्या उज्ज्वेभ्यः ॥ का० श्रौ० सू० १४, २, ११ ।  
पूर्वं चतुरोनिरात्रपशूनाग्नेयादीनुपाकृत्य वशां बन्ध्यां षड्भिः विचित्रवर्णामुपाकरोति ।

‡ तदभावेऽष्टिम् ॥ का० १४, २, १२ ॥

प्राजापत्यांश्च सप्तदश श्यामवृपरान् बसान् ॥ का० १४, २, १२ ॥

श्यामाश्च ते वृपराश्च श्यामवृपराः तान् वृपरान् षड्ङ्घोनिान् बसान्मुष्करान्  
साण्डान् प्रजनयिष्यन् ।

nakshatras, or on the day when the moon is in the constellation Revati, or on the day of the new moon. On the day preceding the ceremony, the performer should celebrate the s'rúdhitha called *Nándimukha*, and at night observe the *Udakas'ánti* and the *pratisara-bandha*. The first consists in sprinkling holy water with appropriate mantras on the householder, and the latter in tying a thread on the right wrist in a prescribed form to serve as an emblem of engagement, to be kept on until the completion of the ceremony for which it is tied. In Bengal this thread is now tied only on the occasion of a marriage or the investiture of the sacrificial thread; but in the North-West it is used for several other ceremonies.

On the day of the ceremony, the first duty is to attend to the five obligatory duties of bathing, offering of water to the manes, reading of the Vedas, offering of oblations to the household fire, giving of alms to beggars, and cooking of rice for the Vaisya-deváh.\* The animal to be sacrificed is then to be thought of, while repeating the mantra beginning with the word *Príyatám*, &c. Proceeding then to the Gárhapatya fire the institutor and his wife should sit beside it on kús'a grass, holding at the same time a bundle of that article in their hands, and then thrice inaudibly and thrice loudly repeat a mantra, and, having duly ordained the priests, solemnly resolve to perform the ceremony. The Adhvaryu should now come forward, produce in due form the sacrificial fire by briskly rubbing two pieces of wood against each other, sanctify it by proper mantras, light the Áhavinya fire altar, and thereon offer oblations of clarified butter. If the fire used be an ordinary one, and not produced by friction, a different form of sanctification, is to be adopted to that recommended in the first instance. The oblations, however, are the same, and they are five-fold, the last two being in favor of the sacrificial post and the axe with which it is to be cut.

Now proceeding by the eastern gate, the institutor should proceed to the tree from which the post is to be cut out. There, standing before the tree with his face to the west, he should address a mantra to the tree, and then anoint its trunk with a little sacrificial butter. The post being subsequently cut, a piece of gold is to be put on the stump, a little water is to be sprinkled thereon, and four offerings of butter made to it.

The post should be five *aratnis* and four fingers long, each *aratni* being equal to about 16 inches, that is, of the length of the forearm from the inner condyle of the humerus to the tip of the little finger. From nine inches to a foot of the lower end of the post should remain unshorn for the purpose of being buried in the earth; but above that the shaft should be pared and made either octagonal, or square. The top, to the extent of four

\* पाठो होमस्यान्तिथीनां सपर्या तर्पणं बलिः ।

एते पञ्च मह्ययज्ञाः ब्रह्मयज्ञादिनामकाः ॥

fingers, should be cut into the form of a tenon, whereon is to be fixed a round wooden band or ferule, for regulating the proportion of which as also for the various operations of cutting, chiselling, scraping, appropriate mantras are provided. The shavings should be collected, partly for the cooking of frumenty, and partly for fixing the post in the earth.

The place where the post should be fixed has next to be determined. For this purpose, a peg is to be fixed in front of the Ahavaniya fire at the distance of two feet from its northern edge. Proceeding northwards twelve feet therefrom, a second peg is to be fixed, and then taking a piece of string 18 feet long and having a loop at each end, it is to be fixed to the fore peg, and then, drawing it tight at the thirteenth feet, a third peg is to be fixed, a hole being dug between it and the peg at the twelfth feet, and another at the fourteenth feet. The string being now drawn towards the south, pegs are to be fixed as above. These opposite points are called the *s'roni*, or the hips of the altar. The string is next turned to the east and west successively, and pegs fixed at the distance of fourteen feet on each side from the centre. These constitute the two shoulders of the altar (*skandha*). To the west of the twelfth feet peg, eight inches of space should be kept for the post, and beyond it a peg should be fixed to mark the boundary of the spot. Beyond it, in a straight line at the distance of a yoke-pin, another peg is to be fixed, and beyond it a square altar of the length and height of a yoke-pin should be made similar to the Ahavaniya altar. This is called the *Uttara-vedi*. Upon this there should be another, a span square and four fingers or a span high, having a depression in the centre like a foot-mark. This is the northern naval, *Uttaranabhí*. Measuring two or three feet straight to the west of the altar pin, and then turning to the north two or three feet, a hole is to be dug of the size of a yoke-pin. This is called *Chátvīla*. Measuring again four feet straight to the west of the altar, and then turning to the north one foot, a peg is to be fixed marking the place of the *Utkara* or refuge field.

The Yajamána now sheds his hair, rubs butter on his body, ornaments his eyes with collyrium, and then eats something, leaving the next operations of the ceremony to be performed by the priests.

The first duty of the Adhvaryu priest is now to cut two plaksha branches (*Ficus infectoria*), and to arrange all the different articles required for the sacrifice, including among other things a peg of Gambhári wood (*Gmelina arborea*) of the length of the Yajamána's face for driving it into the victim's chest. *Kas'maryamayam hridaya-s'ulam yajamána-mukha-sammítam*. Now follows a series of offerings to the different sacred fires, and the repetition of a number of mantras by the different priests, the Yajamána and his wife, which, however important in a ceremonial point of view, are neither likely to interest the public in the present day, nor to contribute to throw any

light on the subject of this paper. I shall pass on, therefore, to the details connected with the treatment of the sacrificial animal.

On the conclusion of the different offerings above referred to, the victim should be brought forward, rubbed over with a paste of turmeric, enblie myrobolan and oil, well washed, and then led between the *Chátvála* and the *Utkara*, to a spot between the *Ahavaníya* fire and the sacrificial post, and there made to stand before the latter, facing the west. The animal should be of the colour appropriate for Indra and Agni, for the whole ceremony is addressed to them. But should one of that colour be not available, any sound ox may be employed, provided it be not defective by reason of having only one horn, or bored ears, or broken teeth, or docked tail, or being dwarf, deaf, mangy, or undivided-hoofed.

After the bathing the Adhvaryu should offer certain expiatory oblations with the *nityájya*, *sthályájya*, and *vasáhomu havani*, in course of which he should invoke Agni, Indra, Váyu and Prajapati. Then taking a bit of kus'a grass he should place the same with the aid of the Yajamána, on the head of the victim between the horns, while repeating the first verse of the Yajur Veda, *I's'etvá* &c. This is called *Upákarana* or emblematic sacrifice. It is to be followed by the repetition of certain mantras declaratory of the resolution to sacrifice the animal.

Other mantras now follow, accompanied with offerings to the different fires, and repeated manipulations of the sacrificial vessels. These done, the animal is tied by the right horn, the rope passing two or three times round the eye of that side, so as to leave the left horn free. A little water is then sprinkled on the victim, which is allowed to have a good drink of water from a vessel brought near it for the purpose. An offering of butter to the fire with the *s'ruk* spoon is next made, and with the remainder of the sanctified butter in the spoon, spots are marked on the forehead, the hump, and the two hind quarters. Another series of mantras and offerings having been gone through by the Adhvaryu, an axe is placed in the hands of the immolator, a spike stuck into the string with which the victim is tied, and the victim is anointed with some butter. These operations accomplished, the Agnidhra takes up a flaming brand from the *Ahavaníya* altar, and proceeding between the *Chátvála* and the *Utkara* to the front of the *Sámitra* fire, thrice circumambulates the victim by the right side with the brand in his hand, and then, placing the brand near the *Ahavaníya* altar, repeats the circumambulation, while the Adhvaryu offers an oblation after every turn, and then continues his offerings to Prajapati Agni, Váyu, and Vis'vedeváh. The Prati-prasthátá now comes forward, and taking some burning charcoal from the *Gárhapatya* altar, removes it to the *Sámitra* altar. The victim is then led northward between the sacrificial post and the northern altar by the Agnidhra with a flaming brand in his hand, and the Adhvaryu and the Yajamána touch it with the vessel intended

for holding the liver (*vapāsrapamī*). The former next sanctifies the animal by a mantra, and the Agnidhra places before the immolator the burning brand which is cast aside by the Adhvaryu, who orders the immolation with an appropriate mantra ending with the word *sañjñāpaya* "immolate." The immolator now casts the animal on spread kusa grass so as to have its head towards the west, and the feet pointing towards the north, and completes the slaughter, saying at the end "it is immolated" (*sañjñāpta*). The institutor of the sacrifice and the priests should sit during the operation with their faces averted, so as not to behold the sanguinary work, and the Adhvaryu should go on making expiatory offerings to obviate the evils likely to arise from the victims lowing, or slivering, or attempting to run away, or dying by natural causes during the ceremony. A number of mantras, mostly from the Sañhitās of the Rīg and the Yajur Vedas are given for the various operations and offerings mentioned, as also for an interminable and unsufferably tedious series of offerings which are to follow the immolation; but it would be foreign to the subject of this paper, to describe them here. I must, therefore, refer the curious to the MS. from which these details have been taken.

That the animal slaughtered was intended for food, is evident from the directions given in the *As'valāyana Sūtra* to eat of the remains of the offering; but to remove all doubt on the subject I shall quote here a passage from the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, in which the mode of cutting up the victim after immolation is described in detail; it is scarcely to be supposed that the animal, would be so divided if there was no necessity for distribution. The passage runs thus: "celestial and human executioners, (*Samitāra*) commence your work; carry the victim for the purpose of cutting it up. Anxious to divide the victim for the masters of the ceremony, collect the *ulmuka* fire for the animal brought here (to the shambles). Spread the *kūs'a* grass; obtain the permission of the mother, of the father, of the uterine brother, of the friendly members of the herd of the victim. Place it so that its feet may point towards the north; let the eyes reach the sun; let its vital airs attain the regent of the wind; let the ears attain the regents of the quarters; let its life reach the ether above; let its body abide on the earth. Separate its hide so that it may remain entire (without rents). Before cutting open the naval separate the fat. Close its breath that it may remain within; (*i. e.* by tying up the mouth). Cut open its breast so as to make it appear like an eagle (with spread wings). Separate the forearms; divide the arms into spokes; cut out the shoulders (clods) in the form of tortoises; remove the hips (rumps) so as not to injure them; divide the thighs (rounds) with the bone entire in the shape of a door, or of the leaf of the oleander; separate successively in order the 26 ribs; divide the different members so that none be less than what it should be. Dig a trench for burying the

excrements. Throw away the blood to the Rākshasas. Extract entire (and do not puncture in the middle) that part of the entrails which is like an owl in shape (the stomach, *vanishṭu*). Your offspring and their children will live in peace and never weep (*i. e.* these operations being done according to the ordinances of the s'āstra, no injury will befall your family). O slayer of cattle, O Adhrigu, accomplish your task ; accomplish it according to rules ; O Adhrigu, accomplish it.\*"

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is silent as to what should be done with these different parts, but the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa of the Atharva Veda supplies the omission. It gives in detail the names of the different individuals who are to receive shares of the meat for the parts they take in the ceremony. The total number of shares into which the carcass is to be divided is thirty-six, and the following persons are to receive one or more shares each, *viz.* :—

"The Prastātā is to receive the two jaws along with the tongue ; the Pratihartā, the neck and the hump ; the Udgātā, the eagle-like wings or briskets ; the Adhvaryu, the right side chine with the shoulder ; the Upagātā, the left chine ; the Pratiprasthātā, the left shoulder ; the Brahmā and the wife of the Rathyā, the right rump ; the Brāhmaṇāchelhāṅsi, the right hip lower down the round ; the Potā, the thigh (leg ?) ; the Hotā, the left rump ; the Maitrāvaruṇa, the left round ; the Achelhāvāka, the left leg ; the Neshṭā, the right arm (clod) ; the Sadasya, the left clod ; the master of the house the sirloin and some part of the abdomen (flank ? *sada* and *anuka*) ; his wife, the loin or pelvic region, which she is to bestow on a Brāhman ; the Agnidhra, the stomach (*vanishṭu*), the heart, the kidneys, and the right fore leg (*vāhu*) ; the Ātreya, the left leg ; the householder who ordains the sacrifice, the two right feet ; the wife of the householder who ordains the sacrifice, the two left feet ; and both of them in common, the upper lip ; the Grāvastut, three bones of the neck, (vertebra) and the *manirjā*, whatever that be ; the man who leads the cow, three other vertebræ and a half of the perineum ; the Chamasādhvaryu, the bladder ; the Subrāhmaṇya, the head ; the man

\* "द्विधाः शमितार उत मनुष्या चारभध्वं । उपनयत मेधा दुरः । आशासाना मेध-  
पतिभ्यां मेधं । प्रास्ना अग्निं भरत । स्तुणीत वहिः । अन्वेनं माता मन्यतां । अनु पिता ।  
अनु धाता सगर्भः । अनु सखा मयूयः । उदीचीनाः अस्य पदे निधत्तात् । स्वर्ग्यं  
चतुर्गमयतात् । वार्तं प्राणमन्ववृद्धजतात् । दिशः श्रोत्रं । अन्तरीक्षमसुं । पृथिवीं  
शरीरं । एकधास्य लक्ष्मिच्छ्रितात् । पुरा नाभ्या अपिशमो वपामुतखिदनात् । अन्तरेवा-  
द्याणं वारथेतात् । श्वेनमस्य वचः कृणुतात् । प्रशसा वाह्म । शसा दापणी । कश्यपेवाःसा ।  
अच्छिद्रे श्रोणी । कवपोरु स्तकपर्णाष्टौवन्ता । पङ्क्तिशतिस्य वङ्कयः । ता अनुष्टुप्प्राच्यावय-  
तात् । गात्रं गात्रमस्यानूनं कृणुतात् । ज्वध्वगोचं पार्थिवं खनतात् । अस्त्रा रचः सः-  
सृजतात् । वनिष्टुमस्य माराविष्ट । उरुकं मन्यमानाः । नेद्वस्तोके तनये । रविता रव-  
श्चित्तारः । अग्निगो समीध्वं । सुशमि शमीध्वं । शमीध्वमग्निगो " इति ।

who invites people to a Soma sacrifice, the hide.”\* Diverse imprecations are hurled against those who venture to depart from this order of distribution.

The luckiest recipients were no doubt those who got the tongue, the hump, the rounds, and the sirloin ; but some of the inferior officers, such as those who got the feet, the bladder, and the like, could have made but poor use of their shares. They were, however, all allowed plentiful libations of the Soma beer to wash down their meat.

The general rules to be followed in slaughtering animals including cattle, are given by some of the Sūtrakāras. They are of course liable to be modified by special rules in connexion with special ceremonies, but in the absence of any such special rule, they should be regularly followed. Āsvalāyana gives these rules under the head of *Pasūkalpa* in the eleventh section of the first book of his Grihya Sūtra. According to them, after offering oblations of clarified butter to the sacrificial fire, a hearth is to be made to the north of it, for the *Sāmitra* or cooking fire. This done, the animal to be slaughtered is to be made to drink plentifully, then bathed, and then made to stand before the sacrificial fire, facing the west. After this two oblations of clarified butter are to be offered with the mantra beginning with the words *Dūtam*, &c. The animal should then be touched on the back with a green branch bearing leaves while announcing the resolution, “for the gratification of so and so (naming the god), I slaughter thee.” A little water in which paddy and barley have been steeped, is now to be sprinkled on the forepart of the animal, and the aforesaid resolution again repeated. This done, the animal is to be made to drink a part of that water, and the remainder of it is to be thrown on its right fore leg. It is then to be led round the fire three times silently without any mantra, and then carried to the north side, with a burning faggot held before it. When brought to the spot where the cooking hearth has been made, the faggot is to be put into the hearth, and a good fire kindled in it. The master of the ceremony

\* ज्यथातः स्ववनीयस्य पशोर्विभागं व्याख्यास्यामः । उद्धृत्यावदानानि, हनू सजिह्वे प्रक्षोतुः, कण्ठः सकाकुदः प्रतिहर्तुः, श्येनं पक्ष उद्गातुः, दक्षिणं पार्श्वं सांसमध्वर्याः, सव्यमुपगाढृणां, सव्योऽंसः प्रतिप्रस्थातुः, दक्षिणा श्रेणिरथ्या स्त्री ब्रह्मणः, अवरसकथं ब्राह्मणा-र्चसिनः, ऊरुः पोतुः, सव्या श्रेणिर्यातुः, अवरसकथं नैत्रावरुणस्य ऊरुवर्चावाकस्य, दक्षिणा दोर्नष्टुः, सव्या सदसस्य, सदद्वानूकक्ष गृहपतेः, जाघनो पलगाः, तां सा ब्राह्मणेण प्रति-प्राचयति, वनिष्टुर्हृदयं दृक्को चाङ्गुल्यानि दक्षिणे बाङ्गराग्निस्य, सव्य आत्रेयस्य, दक्षिणे पादौ गृहपतेर्ब्रतप्रदस्य, सव्यौ पादौ गृहपलगा ब्रतप्रदायाः, सहैवैनयोरोष्ठं गृहपति-रेवानुशासि, मणिर्जाय स्वध्वांसिखथ कीकसा यावस्तुतः, तिस्रस्यैव कीकसा अर्द्धचापा-नक्षेत्रतुः, अत ऊर्द्धं चमसाध्वर्युणां, क्लोमाः शमयितुः, शिरः सुब्रह्मण्यस्य, यथ क्षुत्या-साङ्गयते, तस्य चम्पे, तथा खलु षट्चिंशत्सम्ययन्ते । षट्चिंशदवदाना गौः, षट्चिंशदक्षरा वृहती, वार्धनो वै स्वर्गो लोकः, वृहत्या वै देवाः स्वर्गं लोके यजन्ते, वृहत्या स्वर्गं लोके प्रतिष्ठति, प्रतिष्ठति प्रजया ५२५भिर्य एवं विभजन्ते ।

then is to take up two stout sticks of Kásmarya\* wood, one with, and the other without, leaves, and successively touch the animal and the Adhvaryu. This done, he should spread some kús'a grass on the west of the hearth, and the animal, having been laid on it with its head towards the east or the west, and the feet pointing towards the north, is to be killed by the Samitá. The instrument of destruction is not named, and it is doubtful whether a knife was used, or a spike of hard wood, one of the gambhári sticks alluded to above, was driven into the region of the heart to effect the destruction. Both methods are noticed elsewhere, and the spike was called *sphya*. But however effected, immediately after the immolation, the master of the ceremony should cover the right hypochondriac region with a little kús'a grass, and make an oblique incision to extract an important organ from the abdomen. If the immolation be made with the animal's head to the east, it will be necessary to turn the carcass over to come to the spot. The organ to be extracted is called *Vapá*, and in Sanskrit dictionaries it is set down as a synonym of fat or marrow. Some take it to be the omentum, but the commentator of Ās'valáyana describes its place to be a hollow above, and to the right of the navel,† which takes us exactly to the region of the liver, and knowing how eagerly such Hindus as take flesh meat in the present day, like the liver of goats, as a delicacy, I am disposed to believe that the word means the liver. Such a tit bit would be much more worthy of the gods than the skinny omentum, which is utterly unfit for human food.

\* *Gmelina arborea*. The wood of this tree is reputed to be remarkably dense, hard and tough. The technical name of the stick is *Vapásrapani*. A *srapani* is ordinarily a cooking pot, but in the present instance, as one of them should be अशखा "without leaves" and the other सशखा with leaves, I infer that sticks are meant.

† शमित्वस्य पश्चिमे देशे वर्द्धिषपसृणाति कर्त्ता । 'तं यत्र निहनिष्यन्तो भवन्ति तदध्वर्युर्वच्चिरघस्तादुपास्यति' इति श्रुतेः । ततस्त्रिंशन् वर्द्धिषि प्राक्शिरसं प्रत्यक्शिरसं वोदकपादं पशुं सञ्जपयति शमिता । उदकपादमित्येव सिद्धे प्राक्शिरसं प्रत्यक्शिरसं वेति वचनम्, ऊर्द्धशिरसः सञ्जपनं माभूदित्येवमर्थः । ततः कर्त्ता पुरा नाभेरवाङ् नाभेर्दक्षिणतो नाभेरासीनो वपास्थानं ज्ञात्वा तत्र दृणमन्तर्द्वाय तिर्यक् क्लिप्त्वा वपामुत्खिदेदुद्धरेत् । वपास्थानन्तु दक्षिणस्य पार्श्वस्य विविक्तप्रदेशः । यदि प्राक्शिराः सञ्जपः, तथा सति दक्षिणं पार्श्वमुत्तानं कृत्वा दृणान्तर्द्धानादि कुर्यात् । ततो वपामवदाय अचखण्ड । पुनर्वपाग्रहणं कृत्वावदानार्थं । तेनान्येष्ववदानेष्वहत्त्वानि ग्रहणानि भवन्ति । ततो वपा अपणीभ्यां परिगृह्णाद्भिरभिविच्य प्रक्षाल्य शमित्वे प्रताप्य, प्रतापनन्तु घर्मसाचं अपणस्योत्तरत्र विधानात् । ततः शमित्वस्योत्तरतो गत्वाऽधेणैनमौपासनमग्निं वपां ऊत्वाऽस्य दक्षिणत आसीनः अपथिला अपथिता तां वपामभिघार्य वर्द्धिषि स्रक्तशखासु निधाय उभावप्यश्री यथागतं परीत्य जुहुयात् अमुष्मै स्वाहेति ।



The liver being thus extracted, it should be cut, stuck on the two gambhāri sticks, washed, and then heated on the cooking fire. Proceeding then to the sacrificial fire, an offering is to be made to it with a bit of the liver. Sitting then on the south side of that fire, the meat is to be cooked, and butter be dropped on it while cooking. The roast being in this way completely dressed, it should be placed on the leaves of the plaksha tree (*Ficus infectoria*), and further offerings made to the two fires. On this occasion rice is likewise cooked, and the carcass being then cut up into eleven principal parts, such as the heart, the tongue, the briskets, &c. besides other minor parts, they are all to be cooked at the sāmitra fire. The heart is to be stuck on a spit and carefully roasted over the fire so as to make it tender, clarified butter being subsequently poured on it to complete the dressing.\* On the completion of the operation, the different kinds of cooked meat and rice should be offered to the sacrificial fire with appropriate mantras, each ending with the word *svāhá*. If the meat and rice be offered separately, then separate *svishṭakriti* or final offerings are to be made for each of them, otherwise one final-offering would suffice for all. The roast should be offered last without any mantra. The mantras enjoined are all extracts from the Sañhitā of the Rig Veda.

These rules, simple as they are, are nevertheless too complicated for a feast to be improvised whenever a respectable guest honours a house; and for such a purpose, therefore, a separate set of rules have been provided in which the order of the guest to slaughter, given in a Rig Vedic verse, followed by another when immolating, is held sufficient. The ceremony is called *Madhuparka*, or the offering of honied meal. The persons for whom this ceremony was imperative, were ritvigs, kings, bridegrooms, Vedic students on their return home after the completion of their studies, Āchāryas or tutors coming to a house after a year's absence, fathers-in-law, uncles, and generally all men of high rank.† The first duty of the householder on the arrival of a guest belonging to any of these classes was, after salutation, to offer a seat. This was ordinarily a mat made of *kús'a*‡ grass, and in the case of ritvijās

\* पशोर्यद्वर्णं, यानि चेत्यामेकाद्भावदानानि पशोः प्रसिद्धानि, तानि यथा स्युरित्येवमर्थं । हृदयं जिह्वा वच्च इत्येवमादीनि । सर्वाङ्गग्रहणमेकाद्ग्रह्येऽन्यान्यपि यान्यङ्गानि दद्यानि तेषामपि विकल्पेन ग्रहणार्थं । एवमवदाय तानि शाश्वितः अपयति । हृदयं प्रदत्ते प्रोत्य प्रतापयति यथा शृतं भवति । ततः शृतान्यभिघर्थ्याद्वास्य ततः खालीपाकस्यैकदेशं पूर्वं जुहुयात् । ततोऽवदानानि ॥ १२ ॥

† ऋत्विगाचार्य्य-असुर-पितृव्य-सातुलादीनामुपस्थाने मधुपर्कः, संवत्सरे पुनर्यज्ञविवाहयोरर्वाग् राज्ञः श्रेत्रियस्य च ॥ १२० ॥ Gautama apud Kulluka Bhaṭṭa; Manu, III, 120.

‡ कूश्दर्भैर्विनिर्मितं ।

or officiating priests, it was the most appropriate; but the word used for it by Ās'valāyana is *vishṭara*, which means simply an article to sit upon, and it may have been a carpet, a stool, a chair, or a couch. Wooden seats are particularly mentioned in different works.

After the guest was seated, the most appropriate article for refreshing him, in a warm country like India, was water to wash his feet with. This was called *pādya*, and the rule on the subject required that a Brāhmana guest should have his right foot washed first, and then the left, the order being reversed in the case of S'ūdras; the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas being left to follow their own inclination in the matter. The washing was repeated three times. The next offering was the *arghya*, which consisted of a little water with scents and flower garlands,\* and was no doubt much more appropriate than what is offered to gods in the present day, which consists of sandal wood paste and a few grains of rice thrown on a flower and sprinkled over with water. The mantra for the offering was repeated three times. A glass of water for washing the face next followed, and the guest was expected to drink of it as much as he liked. The *Madhuparka* strictly so called was next brought forward. It consisted of curds and honey held in a small cup, butter being substituted when honey was not at hand. When bringing it, the host was required to look at it and repeat a mantra three times. The guest received the cup while repeating a mantra, then looked at it while repeating another, and mixing the ingredients in the cup with his index finger or the thumb or the little finger with a third, and cleared his finger by giving it a jerk while repeating a fourth mantra. He was required then to repeat three mantras successively, throwing a little of the mixture after each repetition upwards into the air with the tip of his finger, offering it to Rudra, Āditya, and Vis'vedevāh. Then placing the cup on the ground, he tasted the mixture three times, repeating a mantra on each occasion. According to some, he had to eat the whole of the mixture in three mouthfuls, but according to others, a portion was left behind to be given to a Brāhman, or should such a person to receive it happen not to be at hand, to be thrown into water.† A drink of water after this honeyed meal was of course a necessity, which was met in the same way as the first drink before the meal, the mantra for it being the same; but a second drink followed with a different mantra. The order to give the remains of a tasted food to a Brāhman is worthy of note. It would be the direst insult to a Brāhman in the present day to ask him to receive such an offering.

\* गन्धमाल्यादिसंयुक्तमुदकमुच्यते । Garganārāyana's Vritti on Ās'valāyana, 105.

† ब्राह्मणाय उच्छिद्यं उद्धृतादवशिष्टं उदङ्मुखो मधुपर्कं प्रयच्छेत् । ब्राह्मणालाभे अप्सु निषिञ्चेत् ॥ १९ ॥

A cow was next brought forward and offered to the guest ; whereupon he said, " My sin is destroyed, destroyed is my sin," and then ordered the immolation of the animal with the words *Om kuru*, " accomplish, Amen."\* The host thereupon immolated the cow in the name of some appropriate divinity. If it were desired that the cow should be sanctified and let loose, then the guest repeated the mantra : " This cow is the mother of the Rudras, and the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ādityas, and the pivot of our happiness ; therefore I solemnly say unto all wise men, kill not this harmless sacred cow. Let her drink water and eat grass ;"† and then ordered it to be let loose, and the same was accordingly done. Lest this should lead to the idea that the feast at this ceremony may be celebrated without flesh meat, Ās'valāyana emphatically ordains that no *Madhuparka* should be celebrated without flesh meat,‡ and his commentator Garganārāyana provides for this by saying that " when the animal is sacrificed, its meat supplies the requirement of the feast ; should it be let loose, flesh meat should be provided by other means, but on no account should the feast be without that article."§

In this he has followed the ordinance of Manu, who declares that the man who, having in due form performed a (*Madhuparka* or other) ceremony, fails to eat flesh meat, will be doomed to be born an animal for twenty-one generations ;|| and that Brahmanā having created animals for sacrifices, their immolation at a Vedic ceremonial cannot be injurious, and that animals, beasts, trees, tortoises, and birds, destroyed in the performance of sacred rites, rise after death in the scale of creation.¶

Convenient as the ceremony of *Madhuparka* was for the celebration of a feast, it was not calculated to afford a ready and cheap supply of meat to persons given to its use, and accordingly Manu ordained (ante, p. 176,) that

\* आचान्नादकाय गां वेदयन्ते ॥ २२ ॥

इतो मे पाप्मा पाप्मा मे इत इति जपित्वा ओङ्कुरतेति कारयिष्यन् ॥ २४ ॥

इमं मन्त्रं जपित्वा ओङ्कुरतेति ब्रूयात् । यदि कारयिष्यन् मारयिष्यन् भवति तदा च दाता आलभेत । तत्र देवताः प्रागुक्ताः ॥ २४ ॥

† माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनां स्वसाऽऽदित्यानामस्यतस्य नाभिः । प्रणु वेत्तं चिकितुषे जनाय मा गामनागाददिति बधिष्ठ । पिवतूदकं दृणान्यत् । ओमुत्सृजत ॥

This mantra occurs in the ceremony of letting loose the cow which used to be led before a corpse to the burning ground at a funeral. Vide ante vol. XXXIX p. 247.

‡ नामांसा मधुपर्का भवति भवति ॥ २६ ॥

§ मधुपर्काङ्गभाजनमसां न भवतीत्यर्थः । कुतः । सांसस्य भोजनाङ्गत्वेन लोके प्रसिद्धत्वात् । अनेनाभ्युपायेन भोजनमप्यत्र विहितं भवति । पशुकरणपक्षे तन्मांसिनं भोजनं, उत्सृजनपक्षे सांसान्तरेण । Ās'valāyana I, 24-26.

|| Manu V. 35.

¶ Ibid V. 394.

flesh meat purchased at the butchers' stall was pure, and fit for consumption by pious Hindus. I have nowhere noticed that butchers were required, as among the Muhammadans, to observe any ceremonial rite before slaughtering animals, and am disposed to believe that none was observed, and that the only restriction was that the person purchasing meat for food had to offer a portion of it after dressing it to the gods, manes, guests, or beggars, which sufficed to accomplish a *yajña*.

It is worthy of note here, that while killing of Bráhmans, drinking of spirituous liquors by Bráhmans, stealing of gold belonging to Bráhmans, defilement of the bed of spiritual preceptors, and association for a year with those who are guilty of the aforesaid four crimes, are reckoned by Yájñavalkya among the most heinous crimes—*Mahápátaka*, the mischievous killing of cattle is included among secondary or *upapátaka* offences, and the expiation for it is comparatively slight. A Bráhmaṇ guilty of drinking spirits cannot expiate his crime without suicide produced by a draft of molten metal, while a cow-killer is let off by Samvarta with a fortnight's short-commons, consisting of barley-meal, milk, curds and butter, a feast to Bráhmans and the gift of a cow.\* Yájñavalkya is a little more exacting; he insists upon drinking of the five products of the cow, *pañchagavya*, following a cow as it roams about, sleeping in a cattle-shed regularly for a whole month, and ending with the gift of a cow, or a fine equal to the value of the animal destroyed.† He also recommends other forms of expiation, and his rival Smṛitikáras have each his own scheme; but none insists upon any thing approaching to suicide.

The author of the *Nárasinhya Prayoga Párijáta* has copied verbatim As'valáyanás rule about the necessity of eating beef at the Madhuparka ceremony, but qualified it by a quotation from the Áditya Purána which says that in the present Kali age the Madhuparka should be celebrated without slaughtering a cow. This quotation has been given at length both by Párasara‡ and Hemádri and other compilers, and runs as follows:—"Protracted Brahmacharya, carrying of the begging pot called Kanaṇḍalu, production of issue by a brother-in-law, gift of a daughter once already given away (widow marriage), marriage with girls of other than one's own caste by the twice-born classes, killing of noble Bráhmaṇas (versed in the Vedas) in fair warfare even if they come to the attack, entrance into the Vánaprastha

- \* सक्तुयादकभेच्छाशी पयोदधिघृतं शकृत् ।  
 एतानि क्रमशोऽश्वीयान्मासार्द्धं सुसमाहितः ।  
 ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा तु गां दद्यादात्मशुद्धये ॥ संवर्त्तः ।  
 † पञ्चगव्यं पिबन् गोघ्ने मासमासीत् संयतः ।  
 गोघ्ने श्वो गोऽनुगामी गोप्रदानेन शुध्यति ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

‡ I suppose this is a compiler and not the author of the *Saṅhítá*, for the latter does not quote authorities in support of his rules and ordinances.

state according to law, reduction of the period of mourning on account of duty, or service, or for reading the Vedas ; expiations on the part of Brāhmins involving loss of life, condemnation for association with criminals, immolation of animals at the Madhuparka, acceptance as sons, of other than legitimate and adopted sons ; boarding together on the part of the twice-born householders with a servant, cowherd, friend of the family, and persons with whom agriculture is jointly carried on if they be S'udras by caste ; pilgrimage to very remote places ; cooking of food by S'udras for Brāhmins, expiatory suicide by falling from very high places, or into the fire ; suicide on account of extreme old age, and the like have been abstained from by noble and learned men at the beginning of the Kali Yuga for the well-being of mankind. The practice of revered persons is proof as potent as that of the Vedas.\* The Vrihannārādīya Purāna follows this very closely, but at the same time it omits some acts and prohibits others which are not condemned by the former. The additional acts condemned are, suicide by getting one's self drowned in the sea, offering of flesh meat at S'rāddhas, human sacrifice, horse sacrifice, Gomedha sacrifice, and Vedic yajñas involving sacrifices of cattle.† It is

\* हेमाद्रिपराशर्योरादित्यपुराणम् ।

दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं धारणञ्च कभण्डलोः ।  
 देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिर्दत्तकन्या प्रदीयते ॥  
 कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहस्य द्विजातिभिः ।  
 आततायिद्विजाप्राणां धर्मशुद्धेन हिंसनं ।  
 वानप्रस्थान्नमस्यापि प्रवेशे विधिचेदितः ॥  
 वृत्तसाध्यायथापेक्षमघसङ्कोचनं तथा ।  
 प्रायश्चित्तविधानञ्च विप्राणां मरणान्तिकं ॥  
 संसर्गदोषः पापेषु मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः ।  
 दशैरसेतरेषान् पुचत्वेन परिग्रहः ॥  
 शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्द्धशीरिणां ।  
 भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य तोर्यमेवातिदूरतः ॥  
 ब्राह्मणादिषु शूद्रस्य पक्वतादिक्रियापि च ।  
 भृगवः प्रपतनञ्चैव वृद्धादिमरणनथा ॥

इत्यादीनभिधाय ।

एतानि लोकगुणार्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।  
 निर्वाचितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ।  
 समयस्यापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद् भवेत् ॥

† वृहन्नारदीये । समुद्रयात्रास्त्रीकारः कसण्डलुविधारणम् ।

द्विजानामसवर्णेषु कन्यास्त्रपयमस्तथा ॥  
 देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिर्मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः ।  
 मांसादनं तथा श्राद्धे वानप्रस्थान्नमस्तथा ॥

worthy of note, however, that this prohibition in the *Āditya Purāṇa* is not positive and explicit, but implied: "Because certain noble and wise men did not do so, and the practice of pious men is proof as potent as that of the Vedas," ergo they should not be done, the author wished to say, but did not do so in so many words. Both these extracts proceed from *Upapurāṇas* of probably not more than eleven or twelve hundred years of age. According to Professor Wilson, the *Upapurāṇas* are not older than the twelfth century, but seeing that the *Vṛihannārādiya* has been quoted as an authority by Vallāla Sena in his *Dānasāgara*, and he lived in the eleventh century, it must be at least four or five centuries older; but they have been so carelessly preserved, and are so full of interpolations, and altogether are of such questionable authenticity, that even the most orthodox Hindu holds them to be of very secondary rank compared to the Vedas, the *Smṛitis* and the *Sūtras*. Thus it is said in the *Prayoga Pārijāta* that where the *S'ruti* and the *Smṛiti* disagree, the *S'ruti* should prevail. Again the *Smṛitis* are more venerable than the *Purāṇas*, and of the *Smṛitis* *Manu* is the most authoritative.\*

In the opinion of Paulastya, who is himself an original *Smṛitikāra*, *Manu* must yield to the *Kalpa Sūtras*, which, being derived immediately from the Vedas, are of greater authority than the *Smṛitis*.† This has not been contradicted by any lawgiver or commentator. The *Upapurāṇas* hold a lower rank than the *Purāṇas*, and have nowhere been allowed to override the latter, much less the *S'ruti* and the *Smṛiti*; the order of precedence being according to the above, 1st *S'ruti* or *Veda*, 2nd *Sūtra*, 3rd *Smṛiti*, 4th *Purāṇas*, 5th *Upapurāṇa*. It is not a little remarkable, therefore, that the last should be allowed in the present instance to prevail over the first four. The author of the *Nīrṇaya sindhu* assumes even a lower ground. He begins by quoting an unnamed authority which says, "Works which lead not to paradise, and are condemned by public opinion, should not be performed;" and then argues, "Thus, the slaughter of large bulls and large sheep for *Brāhmaṇas* versed in the Vedas, though duly ordained, should not be done, being

दत्तायाश्चैव कन्यायाः पुनर्दानं वरस्य च ।

दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं नरमेघाद्यमेघकौ ॥

महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधं च तथा मखं ।

इमान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाङ्गर्भनीधिणः ॥

\* श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणानां विरोधो यत्र विद्यते ।

तत्र श्रौतं प्रमाणन् तयोर्द्वेषे स्मृतिर्वरा ॥

वेदार्थोपनिबन्धत्वात् प्राधान्यं हि मनोः स्मृतम् ।

मन्वर्थविपरीता या सा स्मृतिरपधास्यते ॥

† कल्पसूत्रस्मृत्योर्विरोधे प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिमूलत्वेन कल्पसूत्रं प्रबलमित्याह हमाद्रा सङ्गच्छे

पौलस्त्याः ।

detested by the public. Further, the rule, let a cow fit for offering to Mitra and Varuṇa, or a barren cow, or one that has ceased to bear after first calving, be sacrificed, is duly ordained; still such sacrifice being opposed to public feeling, should not be performed.”\* If such be the case, the question arises, whence comes this public feeling against the ordinances of the Vedas? And we can nowhere meet with a more appropriate reply than in the fact that when the Bráhmans had to contend against Buddhism, which emphatically and so successfully denounced all sacrifices, they found the doctrine of respect for animal life too strong and too popular to be overcome, and therefore gradually and imperceptibly adopted it in such a manner as to make it appear a part of their S’ástra. They gave prominence to such passages as preached benevolence and mercy for all animated creation, and so removed to the background the sacrificial ordinances as to put them entirely out of sight. Such a process is even now going on in Hinduism under the influence of Christianity, and, as the Hindu mind was during the ascendancy of Buddhism already well prepared for a change by the teachings of the Buddhist missionaries, no difficulty was met with in making faith, devotion, and love supply the place of the holocausts and unlimited meat offerings ordained by the Vedas. The abstention was at first no doubt optional, but gradually it became general, partly from a natural disposition to benevolence, and partly out of respect for the feeling of Buddhist neighbours, such as the Muhammadans now evince for their Hindu fellow-subjects by abstaining from beef in different parts of Bengal, that writers found it easy to appeal to the practice of the people and public feeling as proofs even as potent as the Vedas, and authoritatively to declare that sacrifices were forbidden in the present age. This once done, the change was complete. In short, the Buddhist appeal to humanity proved too much for the Smṛiti, and custom has now given a rigidity to the horror against the sacrifice of animal life, which even the Vedas fail to overcome.

\* अखर्गं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्ममप्याचरेन्न त्विति निषेधात् । यथा, महेच्छं वा महाजं वा श्रेत्रियाय प्रकल्पयेदिति विधानेऽपि लोकविद्विष्टत्वादननुष्ठानं । यथा वा मैत्रावरुणं गां वशासनं बन्ध्यामालभेत इति गवालम्बनविधानेऽपि लोकविद्विष्टत्वादननुष्ठानं ।  
निर्णयसिन्धुः ।